UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

"Nearer My God to Thee" - *Robert Whitaker*

A Layman Looks at Leisure - *Joseph Stead*

The Social Function of A Free Church
- - - - - - *Curtis W. Reese*

Can Anti-Semitism Be Combatted?
- - - - - - *Miriam Ziony*

THE STUDY TABLE

VOLUME CXX NUMBER 12

Chicago, February 21, 1938

PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS

UNITY

Established 1878

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

Published Semi-Monthly Until Further Notice

Subscription $3.00 Single Copies 15 cents

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter May 24, 1935, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Freedom of Religion As a Safeguard for an Enduring America*

DR. EVERETT R. CLINCHY

This conference on American Defense is doing a wise thing of profound significance: you are telling the world that Americans are earnestly interested in the national defense of ideas, of principles, and of human values. Obviously a police force in the shape of an army and a navy will always be necessary, but the best defense of American economic democracy against Communism and Fascism depends not so much on guns at our borders as in the principles of justice: we must create in the United States a better social order than the Communists or the Fascists can promise, a social order so good that no one will want to exchange it for either Communism or Fascism.

There is nothing more precious to defend than Freedom of Religion. There is no surer safeguard for an enduring America.

This country was developed by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, each a victim of intolerance at one time or another in Europe. Each came to these shores for the deliberate purpose of seeking freedom of the human spirit—the right to think, to speak, to assemble, to organize and to worship according to conscience. From George Washington on through the years, Americans have maintained that the integration of all religious forces, mobilized for religious freedom, is a powerful factor in our national defense.

The American democratic idea of freedom of the human spirit is today being challenged by fanatical missionaries of a totalitarian theory of government. The totalitarian state usurps the functions of the church; it destroys the religious basis of traditional morality; it arrests intellectual as well as spiritual freedom. This very assembly for a patriotic consideration of the principles, values, and ideas which the people must defend, would be ruled out by a totalitarian state!

A lesson from contemporary totalitarian nations is this: all human liberties are inextricably bound up with religious freedom, so that when religious freedom is lost, civil liberties disappear shortly. The converse is also true: complete religious freedom is safe in America only so long as all liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights are safe, too.

If religion is to fulfill its function, it must be untrammeled and free. The future of humanity is bound up with the fortunes of religion. A free religion within a free state is not only the cherished principle of the American republic; it is the hope of the world.

*Abstract of address delivered at Thirteenth Women's Conference on National Defense for an Enduring America, Washington, D. C., Jan. 26, 1938.

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXX MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1938 No. 12

FREE OPINION

A difference of opinion on political points is not to be imputed to freemen as a fault. It is to be presumed that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their country.

—George Washington

ARMS AND THE PRESIDENT

The discouraging thing about the President's paralyzing proposal for the extension of American armaments on land and sea and in the air to the tune of another billion dollars is not the proposal itself but the way in which it has been received. Just this kind of a program was to be expected, of course, from this administration. It has been armament-minded from the beginning. The President's Chicago speech made inevitable this next move. Secretary Hull's vague talk about maintaining ships and men in China to the end that "orderly processes in international relationships be maintained" had as its logical conclusion the extension of preparedness on a grand scale. The depression, the unemployment crisis, made it sooner or later inevitable that, to quote Professor Charles A. Beard in the *New Republic,* "the Roosevelt administration, bewildered and baffled by the economic impasse at home, [would] employ sentimental coverages for excursions abroad." So in this regard the whole drama is running true to form! But what about the people, who are of course opposed to the entrance of this country into any foreign war? Do they not see that big armies and navies inevitably mean war, and are they not therefore going to oppose this huge armament legislation? "Where are the pacifists," cries Maury Maverick, that unflinching Congressman from Texas. They are here, Mr. Maverick—already the Federal Council of Churches, under the leadership of Edgar DeWitt Jones, has spoken out emphatically against the President's whole program. But at this writing there has been no such upsurge of pacifist sentiment as wrecked a big navy program a dozen years ago. The Republican Party—is it going to miss this opportunity to meet the President face to face in opposition? For five full years the Republicans have been grubbing for an issue, and here it is! Yet McNary, Senate leader, is all for backing up the administration, and Mr. Vandenberg and Hiram Johnson have contented themselves with feeble questions. Where are the liberals? Is La Follette going to follow his father, or betray his memory? Will Norris feebly and foolishly consent to what he knows is wrong? Will Nye fight to the last ditch? And labor—will the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. together fail us in this crisis? It is a heart-sickening prospect we have before us. Indifference at this hour is as fatal as acquiescence. Unless there is far more opposition to this measure than has yet appeared, the billion dollars will be appropriated for arms—and that's the beginning of the end!

STALEMATE IN SPAIN

There seems to be no end in sight in Spain. Month after month the fighting goes on, with more men dead, more non-combatants massacred, more cities battered to ruin, but neither side either winning or losing. The horror of Teruel is a perfect symbol of the whole panorama of destruction. Here is a town of no particular importance. But it long rested in the hands of the Rebels as a kind of spearhead thrust into Loyalist territory. So its possession became a matter not so much of strategy as of honor. Suddenly, weeks ago, a surprise attack resulted in the capture of Teruel by the Loyalists. Whereupon General Franco marshalled all his forces and launched a counter-attack of planes, tanks, artillery, and crack troops which has resulted in the most terrific and least decisive fighting of the war. Teruel has long since been blown to bits, its population killed or scattered, yet the battle goes on at enormous cost to both sides. Is this what is destined in this struggle for the whole of Spain? Is this loveliest of countries to be slowly devastated and wrecked, until at last two prostrate armies lie exhausted and helpless amid the ruins? Or suppose that, after months, perhaps years of combat, one side or the other wins! Will it be a victory analogous to that of the Great War, which was quite as fatal to victor as to vanquished? Will there be anything left for Loyalists or Rebels to possess and rule? This whole idea of fighting it out with modern weapons of wholesale destruction would be ridiculous if it were not so terrible. If men were not mad, or deceived by sentimental inanities about "honor," and "dying in the last

ditch," and "fighting to make Spain safe for something or other," this war would stop today while there is a little of Spain still left that is not a desert. Now instead of later, by the consent of reason rather than the arbitrament of force, Loyalists and Rebels would meet and compose their differences in the interest of the Spanish people, for the sake of whom they are pretending to do this useless fighting. We know now that it would have been infinitely better, both for the Allies and for the Central Empires, if the World War had been stopped on any mutual terms at any time before November, 1918. The same thing is true now of the civil war in Spain. No man on either side is a friend of Spain, or of humanity, who keeps up the struggle another instant.

RELIEF FOR CHINA

President Roosevelt's appeal to the Red Cross on behalf of Chinese relief is straight to the point, wise, just, beneficent. Not only the one million dollars asked for but *more* should be raised for the most cruelly stricken people in the world. It seems unaccountable to us that action on behalf of China has been so slow. The war in that country began as long ago as last August, and has been accompanied by incredible horrors which have been fully reported in our newspapers. Cities have been bombed and wrecked, and thousands of non-combatants slaughtered. Whole countrysides have been devastated and denuded of their inhabitants. The entire area from Shanghai to Nanking, a natural garden spot, is now one vast desert. In one city alone are crowded a million refugees. It is estimated that 500,000 men, women, and children have perished during the last few months, and no less an authority than Upton Close prophesies that at least 20,000,000 Chinese will die of starvation before the next harvest. Says George R. Grose, in the Pasadena *Star-News*. "More men, women, and children than ever in the history of the race in one country are suffering from starvation and lack of clothing and shelter." Yet in the face of this unparalleled disaster, the Red Cross has been inactive, and at this writing all the Christian churches of America have contributed only $88,000 for Chinese relief. Contrast this with what we did in the case of Belgium in 1914-1916. This Belgian catastrophe was bad enough, but never at any time did it reach the magnitude and horror of the present situation in China. Yet we promptly organized relief on a national scale, placed Herbert Hoover in charge, and raised millions for "bleeding Belgium." What's the matter with us that we are inert and inactive in the case of China? Have we become callous to the world's agony, or are we obsessed with denouncing Japan and too busy boycotting the silk in women's hosiery to remember the perishing victims of Japan's aggression? Less hate and more pity would become us better. Hence our satisfaction that the President has spoken in words that should reach every heart.

THE ANTI-LYNCHING FIASCO

The sidetracking of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, which means its indefinite postponement if not defeat, stirs our ire. The reasons for the frustration of this proposed legislation make us more than ordinarily wrathful—especially the plea, which may or may not be sound, that the bill represents an unwarranted and dangerous intrusion of the national government upon the states. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that this reason is sound. But what a time in which to urge this argument, and offer it as a serious motive for action! Unwarranted intrusion upon the states? By the great horn spoon, what has the Federal government been doing all these halcyon days since the advent of President Roosevelt but center all power in Washington and let the states go hang? Look at the administration's power policy, study its agricultural programs, behold its relief system, remember the NRA and countless other alphabetical bureaus and commissions and departments! Is there anything left of the states these days? Not if the New Deal has anything to say about it. Yet here is the Anti-Lynching Bill knifed, stabbed under the fifth rib, foully slain, on this ridiculous plea that the Federal government should not interfere with the domestic affairs and responsibilities of the several states. It is to laugh—or to weep! At this moment, mind you, we are not saying anything either for or against the prevailing policies of our time. The Roosevelt trends may be good—they may be bad! We are simply pleading, in all commonsense and honesty, that there be some consistency in this business. If the New Deal magnification of the Federal government at the expense of the states is sound, then is it as sound for Anti-Lynching as for any pet Rooseveltian legislation. If this magnification of Washington is not sound, then it should have been stopped long before it reached this critical question of the Negroes. As a matter of fact, we have in this episode only one more illustration of the confusion, or worse, that has been prevailing in Washington ever since 1933. And we have as well a perfect illustration of how much the Democratic Party really cares for the dear Negroes. Their votes, but nothing else! Our Negro friends sold out to Roosevelt lock, stock and barrel, and now they are seeing what it did for them.

A PRINCESS!

It seems like a patch of sunny blue shining through a storm-swept sky to read about the birth of the Princess Beatrix in Holland. Happy country that knows not black shirts, nor storm troopers, nor purges, nor huge armaments of war, nor terror of destruction and death, but only the idyllic happiness of a baby to gladden the hearts of happy people who can have their royal family and still be free! Throngs, we read, gathered in every town and village of the Netherlands to celebrate the advent of the latest heir to the throne. The infant was duly registered by the father, Prince Bernhard, the consort of Juliana, just like any other child born in the

realm. The name, Beatrix, we are told, was chosen for no particular reason, but only because the parents liked it. All of which sounds wholesome and sane and simple, as though in one country at least the world was not yet coming to an end in orgies of madness and horror! It is not surprising that as mankind has looked in upon this domestic scene for a moment, we have forgotten our ills and actually smiled. The same amazing phenomenon is taking place throughout this land as Walt Disney's latest masterpiece, "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," is being shown in crowded theatres. More than 800,000 people saw this picture in four weeks in New York, and all came forth refreshed and purified from the experience. It is difficult to describe the magic of this film. It is all sweetness and gladness, and ineffable beauty. Here is another princess, this time in the dread castle of the wicked queen. Driven forth into the forest, her loveliness wins the friendship of the animals, who guide her safely to the home of the seven dwarfs. Here all is delight, until the wicked queen comes with her poisoned apple, and puts the little princess into the sleep from which only the kiss of Prince Charming at last awakens her. As one watches the unfolding of this fairy tale of the Brothers Grimm, a new world seems suddenly to come into being. There is wickedness in this world, but there is goodness too, and simplicity and love, and much laughter, and the tenderness that shines through tears. Everybody in the theatre is drawn in joy to everybody else, as though by some kinship of the inner spirit—just as the people of Holland were drawn together by their gladness in the birth of a little child. Perhaps princesses, after all, are not so bad! It would seem as though their spell is what we need.

BOOKS, MUSIC, AND OTHER INTERESTS

Nobody knows how many people are listening in to the Toscanini radio concerts, but they must number many millions. All students of radio agree that the growth of interest on the part of the radio public in music of the highest class is one of the amazing phenomena of recent years. One station in New York devotes itself almost exclusively to broadcasting symphony and operatic programs, most of them transcriptions, and it has an enthusiastic audience which numbers several hundred thousands. The Chicago and Philadelphia Orchestras, the Metropolitan Opera, special orchestras of the Ford and General Motor type, studio quartets and soloists, all occupy hours of time and have enormous clienteles. It is not hard to foresee the time when jazz will be pretty much crowded off the air. The development of cultured taste and trained knowledge is seen in the field of literature as well as of music. Book Fairs are now becoming annual events in many cities, and are attended by throngs not unlike those which flock to the automobile shows. An attendant at the New York Fair this year commented on the impressive fact that the majority of people seemed much more interested in serious works than in fiction. Novels were examined only after biographies and histories and travel books had been exhausted. We are impressed by the prevailingly high character of the best-seller lists. There seem to be no "Ouidas," or Harold Bell Wrights, or even Hall Caines these days. Rather is it books like *Anthony Adverse, Gone with the Wind, Northwest Passage,* and *The Citadel,* all works of great distinction, which now sweep the land. Now and then, to be sure, there comes along a Dale Carnegie to convince us that the reading public is composed of morons, but a sham of this kind sticks out all the more conspicuously since it is so rare. In the field of painting and sculpture we are told that the same superior interest and judgment now prevail. Even the surrealist monstrosities have a significance altogether more important than anything that was known in the Victorian Age. Popular art today moves on a different and much higher plane than a century ago. Signs multiply, in other words, that we are developing a genuine culture among us. May this not mean that eventually we will develop also a moral sensibility which in the end may save our world from death?

Jottings

Crowds of young men and women have jammed the Paramount Theatre in New York to listen to Ben Goodman and his "Swing" band. They have jumped and jerked, jiggled in their seats, danced in the aisles, crooned, screamed, bleated like goats, grunted like pigs. Mobs of half-crazed adolescents have stormed the doors to get in and kept police reserves on duty. Thus does a mad generation steadily step by step take its way back to the jungle!

The mystics tell us that death and life are one. If this esoteric statement seems not clear, look at the League of Nations in Geneva, which is not dead but certainly is not alive.

The latest war-invention is a bomb which does *not* explode when it strikes a building. Instead, a clock-mechanism is released at the moment of impact, and the bomb explodes only some seconds later when it has

pierced far into the structure. The result is a complete demolition of the building, with everybody killed, especially those taking refuge in the cellar who are buried in the collapsing ruins. Nothing more perfectly destructive has ever been known, as witness Barcelona, where these latest bombs have appeared. What are we to think of the scientist who conceived and wrought this horror?

If the United States needs such enormous armaments to protect her shores east and west, how can Canada be safe? Yet our Canadian neighbors seem undisturbed, and are appropriating nothing for armies and navies. Why not go to Canada and live?

Dr. Cyrus Adler protests that the persecution of the Jews in Roumania is "illegal"—a violation of international law as pledged to the protection of minorities. But who in this age is paying any attention to law? What government is even pretending to keep agreements, meet contracts, or fulfill promises? Whether it is Roosevelt flouting the gold clauses, or Japan breaking the nine-power treaty, or Roumania ignoring its minority guaranties it is all the same wanton anarchy and dishonor.

What could be more touching than the peace poems being written by the Emperor and the Empress of Japan? In the next war, we may expect all the kings and presidents and premiers to follow this excellent practice.

J. H. H.

"Nearer My God to Thee"

ROBERT WHITAKER

This is written on the morning of a 22nd of February. The date occurred to me as soon as I was awake this morning, for the reason that we are having a sabbath quiet in our town today, not even the postman on his round. It is the anniversary of George Washington's birth. But to me the day brings always the remembrance of another birthday, celebrated nowhere so far as I know, not even among Unitarians, although were they as conscious of the importance of world emphasis as against all national memorials they might well acclaim this memorial of a more universal mood than any that Washington, however worthy, can commemorate. I refer to the fact that Sarah Flower Adams, the author of the most universal of all hymns, "Nearer My God to Thee," was born on February 22, 1805.

It ought to interest not only Unitarians in particular, but all liberals, even though of no religious faith, that the father of Sarah Flower Adams, Benjamin Flower, was a man whose liberal views in the political field caused him to be imprisoned for a time in Newgate, London's notorious prison house. While there a young woman by the name of Eliza Gould called upon him, as one who shared his socially heretical views. After his release they were married, and two girls were born to them, the first, Eliza, being named for her mother; the second, the Sarah Flower Adams of the immortal song. The mother died of tuberculosis five years after this younger daughter was born and the two daughters followed her, by the same disease, a little more than thirty years later. Both girls were rarely gifted, the older one being a musician of some note, the younger one beautiful, brilliant, and vivacious in high degree, gifted in drama and in verse. But for her poor health Sarah would have given herself to the stage, as she felt that the drama could be made the vehicle of high moral instruction as truly as the pulpit. As it was, after her marriage, in 1834, to John Brydges Adams, a civil engineer, her home became the center of a notable circle of friends by reason of her exceptional charm. The longer illness of her sister, who died in December, 1846, and the attendance of Sarah upon her, hastened Sarah's end, her death occurring less than two years later, in August, 1848.

The hymn, "Nearer My God to Thee," was written by Sarah in 1840, and was set to music by her sister. It was published the following year in a book, *Hymns and Anthems,* prepared by her pastor, the Reverend William Johnson Fox, for his Unitarian congregation. The Reverend James Freeman Clarke gave it American publication three years later, in 1844, but it gained little popularity until, in 1856, Lowell Mason wrote for it the fitting tune, "Bethany." Within a few years it had made itself known the world over. American travelers in Palestine in 1871 were amazed and profoundly impressed when they came upon a group of Syrian students, standing in a circle under some trees and singing in their own tongue this hymn, which is peculiarly adapted to be the song of religion for all creeds, all peoples, and all tongues.

There is a certain universalism which to my mind belongs to the story of George Washington when it is lifted above the levels of national emphasis and conceit. He it was who led the way in establishing what was in that hour the pioneer of democratic nations, and, beyond this, was the first great League of Nations on democratic lines. It was more in fact than a League of Nations, for the American colonies, altogether too individually nationalistic in their self-centered consciousness when the American Union was formed, abdicated at that hour their separate domination of the individual American, and yielded to a citizenship for the inhabitants of every State one and indivisible. By this they established a unity which not even the conflict over chattel slavery could break, thanks to the guiding hand of Abraham Lincoln, who also saw that the greater citizenship must prevail. It is the failure of all our projected international leagues of today to build upon this foundation of the citizenship of the individual in the total rather than the provincial fellowship, which dooms them to futility. Not until some movement greater than the American Revolutionary

War, and more enduring than this "indissoluble" union of the states, captures the imagination and the loyalty of mankind, shall we have a world harmony in the field of politics and social life that will bring men, in a world fraternity, to the feet of the "Deity," however He be named, in whom we all "live and move and have our being."

There would be no unfitness, therefore, if those of us who keep Washington's birthday were to make the day a memorial also to the singer of the anthem of the universal soul. It was with this thought in mind that I wrote this morning the lines which are given herewith. But beyond anything that I have said in these simple stanzas, I would fain commend to all who read them this double recognition of the day; on, the one hand, that we make it more than a personal remembrance of George Washington, the man,—rather a celebration of that peculiar, pioneer collectivism which the American Union first initiated under the auspices of our First President; and, by way of that pioneering prophetic spirit of which formal religion is too careless, toward which it is, indeed, too often hostile, that we make the day memorial of the world's most universal religious song. We must de-individualize all our hero-worship, if it is not to remain a fact that the heroes of today are the hitching posts of tomorrow. Nothing could be more foreign to the real historic significance of George Washington than the insistence of our belated American provincials upon making him the Apostle of Isolationism. Rather was he the Apostle of World Citizenship, when the path-finding work which he did is understood. And to this World Citizenship which is coming on, though it may come by way of many a Newgate Prison experience for the Benjamins of our day and tomorrow, preëminently belongs the hymn, "Nearer My God to Thee," whose author by a sort of divine coincidence shared Washington's natal day.

This day recalls his praise and power
Who nursed our Nation's birth.
Yet was the day her natal hour
Whose song enfolds the Earth.

When Nations shall have ceased to be
The warrior's concern,
The world one world from sea to sea,
Whatever days return;

Her words will live, and yet be sung
Her universal theme;
And men of every race and tongue
Dream her immortal dream.

The Earth one Bethel everywhere,
Whereon the sons of men
Shall lift one fellowship of prayer,
One Jacob's Ladder then.

A Layman Looks at Leisure

JOSEPH STEAD

The subject of modern American leisureship and its implications has elicited increasing concern and study among sociologists as well as the laity ever since industrial progress has come to the fore. Much academic and non-academic knitting of brows has accompanied the growth of leisure time and from this there have emerged experimental plans and recommendations designed to cope with a problem presented by the rapid increase in the use of labor-saving machinery on the one hand and, on the other, growing requirements for group spare-time occupation in populous areas.

Recently this interest was abruptly intensified when there was made public the result of a two-year search into the effects of the use of products of inventive origin during the past thirty-five years, comprising a report of gigantic volume compiled at the behest of President Roosevelt who appointed a National Resources Board to "investigate factors which might influence the man power and raw materials of the nation." It is the startling findings of the organization's Sub-committee on Technology which hurls to the surface with forceful impact the fact that an ever more abundant leisure is on the way. Among its exhaustive analyses of conceivable prospects for the next twenty years is found the likelihood of a part of the national population forming a migrating clan afflicted with a wandering sickness—technological unemployment—with the transient bands sinking ever lower in the social scale because old skills are useless in an economy that utilizes only new ones. To the skeptic inclined to discount such a forecast, current history's finger grimly points to the plight of a mounting number of workers and families who even today are roving California's fertile San Joaquin Valley, with squalor, disease, and death trailing their miserable search for seasonal employment. Equally impressive although somewhat less distressing data are included in the completed report which closes with recommendations by the National Resources Board to promote economic adjustment to the requirements of a streamlined machine age.

Essentially and primarily the economic trends disclosed in the report are such as to demand the utmost consideration. With the means of mass production on hand and further improvements on the way, the matter of supplying man's material needs can and should become one of nearly automatic function, eventually freeing man from labor almost completely and gradually giving birth to a new concept whereby the business of supplying material commodity would be lowered into subordinate position and the business of living the better life raised to one of primary concern and occupation. There is indicated the existence of an equal abundance of material needs and of leisure forming a nexus potent with inconceivable promise for good. Meanwhile as methods of production are further perfected and inventive genius goes forward, so will the volume of free time increase. Here it may be perti-

nently pointed out that while it would be desirable to view the ideal condition of economic abundance distributed among the masses together with leisure, there should be no need to wait upon the slow process of economic or political evolution in order to stimulate constructive use of existing free time to the extent which its present scope demands.

The engineering profession has done well in organizing the production of so-called marginal time but such acclaim must be tempered in the same breath with due criticism for the failure to provide for better organization of its consumption. Manifestly the engineer has become a liberator without becoming a liberal. For an assortment of reasons, then, the mounting heap of work-free hours finds this nation less prepared to treat the social issue thus imposed than any people since the beginning of time. It is precisely this state of unpreparedness and lack of training which resolves the issue into a greater threat than would have been the case in any previous age. The very closeness of its historic proximity to a period when human labor rapidly descends in scale of importance, the time, the environment, all contribute to our lack of preparedness for an excess of leisure. Under present circumstances, this leisure, whose inherent ability is yet unappreciated, may do more harm than good. This force which was born from the womb of technology within sound of whirling machinery yet waits upon proper recognition of its imposing scope and incalculable prospects for good as well as for evil. Until yesterday it was as a child. Today it proclaims that it is here to stay and inexorably to grow in stature, the while neutrally expressing its total willingness to submit to intelligent rearing. Shall its existence be utilized in a way that will carry humanity in giant strides along the road to a better life, or shall it be allowed unrestrainedly to wreak destruction upon its creators? Those belonging to that minority upon whom forever rests the burden of consciously sustaining civilization and pushing it to the fore, know the answer.

Stripped of its awesome garb, this entity of leisure which would pose as an overwhelming perplexity is found not to be a problem at all but a direct result of scientific processes applied, in the last analysis, to the production of material commodities, and by the same token equally amenable to control by scientific methods projected through human intellect and determination.

An encouraging degree of definite although elementary progress has been made in refining this young giant's crudities and constructively grooming it for a fated development by applying its force to the solution of individual and group social problems through programs of community recreation sponsored by civic bodies, involving the organized pursuit of hobbies and spare-time occupations. More recently, it is the Federal government which has added virility to this progress by making possible on a scattered scale the promotion of educational, cultural, and recreational activities as outlets for unused energies and the need for creative non-commercial occupation. Entering the field peculiarly equipped with an ample supply of the problem's chief requirement, that of man power to formulate and direct large public programs, it transferred quotas of men and women from a demoralizing relief roll to the nation's neighborhood recreation centers, there to lead patrons of all ages in an agreeable assortment of wholesome leisure-time activities.

Admittedly the volume of this initial major approach to a pressing social issue and the extent of service rendered remain deficient. Yet viewed as a whole, it may be seen that much of the best which human intellect can physically translate is being done in alleviating the serious pressure and potentially disastrous effect of idle hours among the populace. With the country's municipal parks, settlement houses, churches, and other civic hubs as laboratories, experiments with mass recreation programs have produced certain formulas and compounds whose ingredients contain what may be considered the basal staff of the nation's leisure life. The mixture is necessarily being ladled out largely for the consumption of those who are unable to indulge in commercial recreation. Right now, and for some time to come, this service or work will need to stress the use of leisure time in preventive occupation as a corrective measure serving the greatest single item of immediate necessity. Any permanent integrating benefits which must incidentally accrue can be considered as so much surplus value, over and above that required in the present situation.

In this connection it should be noted that if the prospects of this surplus value and its eventual accumulation reveal anything, it is that they give an inkling of the richest, the most potent power yet bestowed upon humanity with which to create a truly satisfying life full of a meaning and understanding that can match and surpass the bravest dreams of social philosophers, past and contemporary. In its use of this power the human community shall indeed be enabled to demonstrate its true dignity. Meanwhile, to claim that definite gains have been made is to recognize no vague benefits. Who shall say that organized leisure occupation as it is seen today in municipal centers has not effected in substantial measure a stronger national morale, a richer existence, and a general advancement in cultural standards? How much weaker would be the social fibre of our people were it not for the nation-wide, at the moment skeletal, leisure-time services offered to community residents within the limits set by available facilities and current perception. More specifically, let there be considered the stark malignity of a situation in which no leisure direction were provided at all.

By no means visionary is the prospect of the positive use of existing leisure forming certain concrete additions to civilization's structure. Among the vast number of people patronizing tax-supported recreation centers today there are being pursued programs consisting in the large of athletics, handicrafts, art, and social activities. This may well signify only a beginning, for since the only important difference between work and play is the presence or absence of a commercial motive, it follows that the Leisure Engineer of tomorrow should find virtual infinity in the number of practical pursuits for spare-time participation. The scope may well be non-exclusive, embracing in its broad spread such subjects of transcendent value as public service and religion, literature and philosophy, science and hygiene, athletics and the arts. By way of logical speculation and with due regard for the welter of emotions which the following conclusion naturally evokes, may we not pause here to subscribe to the belief that in this direction lies the end of the long quest for a moral equivalent for war?

Gone are the puritanic days when avocations were grudgingly tolerated as time consumers, and as such

frowned upon. So has passed in large measure the attitude which held in contempt the urge to engage in non-commercial pursuit, in conformity to the false dictum that all effort be directed to monetary gain. The musical whirl of the modern machine civilization sets a different tune whose keynote stresses the theme that satisfactions which are above the strictly material plane be cultivated, that educational emphasis be applied to the provision of *avocational* rather than *vocational* guidance.

Both the supply and the demand exist for a more substantial approach to the problem presented by mounting leisure, and while opinions may differ, among those professionally identified with recreational leadership who are alive to the need for a permanent program, as to the method of attaining this end, all may agree that the present set-up should be reformed from its current spasmodic function to one of stabilized, scientific operation. As the first comprehensive step to be taken in achieving this worthy objective, there is proffered the unpolished proposal that a move initiated by the profession lead to the appointment of a fact-finding body that would undertake through a survey to "determine the scope and social implications of modern leisure." Further, that there result from this survey specific prescriptions for the practical treatment of the situation revealed. Among the more fundamental recommendations made here, there may conceivably be stipulated the need for more physical facilities such as community buildings, parks, playgrounds; for legislative regulation applied to future real estate developments whereby definite parcels of their total acreage would be set aside for play space, just as part of the land is reserved for thoroughfares; for the employment of trained staffs to furnish leisure-time patrons with necessary leadership.

This last is appropriately joined with the prospect of gradually involving voluntary leadership, an unquestionably legitimate end—indeed a most desirable one—representing as it does an ideal condition in which man, prompted by sheer force of good will, shall render unselfishly unto his neighbor. It is to be enthusiastically anticipated that such a state eventuate. But any attempt made meanwhile to recruit sufficient voluntary force to sustain a satisfactory measure of leisure-time service, it would appear, is altogether quite useless and much too ambitious for present consideration, considering the weakness of available social consciousness and congenial ideology. Such an approach can find favor only among that category of individuals who demonstrate active class interest in striving to keep at a minimum—and less—Federal appropriations expended for the common good. The matter of "voluntary leadership" naturally elicits strong support in this quarter; the fact that it is impractical at this stage matters here not at all.

It should also be agreed among the profession that the advance of leisure has hopelessly outdistanced private and municipal sponsorship, that these bodies have served their purpose as pioneers, and that any consent to confine the task to either one or both of these agencies is to compromise unconscionably with necessity and progressive viewpoint.

While immediate administration of a permanent program may judiciously be assigned to local or state units, central responsibility for its steady function should be assumed by the Federal government. In the interests of democratic function, it is vitally necessary that flexible allowance be made for the substance of the program to originate from the individual community and a wholesome measure of self-determination provided, thus insuring maximum coverage of intimate needs and desires which are bound to vary according to area or locality. In the central coördinating agency or national unit there would serve a staff of key personnel engaged in the execution of fundamental administrative tasks and major promotional services.

There appears to exist here a controversial issue that centers about the source of sponsorship of a permanent leisure-time service. Let it be recognized that the leisure problem is not local in either expanse or effect; that the problem involved is *continental* in character and not *provincial;* that there can be no more logical stand taken than is presented by the realistic observation that the problem accrues from intranational factors and therefore in direct need of Federal treatment and responsibility.

Originally, the main point of resistance to the development of an adequate leisure-time service for the large mass of people who are burdened, or endowed, with surplus hours today was exposed when the Federal government undertook to "do something about leisure" by placing supplementary personnel into public recreation centers. There were the journalistic attacks and other forms of destructive criticism leveled at such sponsorship by the uninformed, and by irresponsible if not nakedly anti-social elements. Viewing this manifestation as typical of that source from which springs all opposition to nearly every progressive, humanitarian objective, it must be expected that more of the same will issue from those who would bend all knees to their god Budget as serious steps are taken to rationalize and direct to constructive ends the free time of the twentieth century. In this regard the forces that unendingly reassert the human spirit must prevail.

In seeking the means through which to transmute the nation's surplus hours into civilizing substance, eyes turn to the present-day director of leisure-time activities who is equipped by training and experience to respond to the immediate aspects of the mandate issued by the new machine age. In administering this dynamic force which is his to direct, he may undertake the task in the knowledge that the effort is accompanied by a moral support that will inevitably grow mightier. This in response to the ever louder voices which ask in the name of the brighter world that fitting use be made of this bounteous gift of leisure which comes as a rich reward for man's technical and productive labors. Those voices mean to be heard.

The principle we wish to establish is that the important thing in this connection is an increased demand on the part of all kinds of people for educational facilities, which may roughly be termed non-vocational, since they are concerned really with restoring balance to a man who has, of necessity, developed to a great extent one or other of his characteristics for the purposes of his livelihood or for the satisfaction of his reasonable desires.

—*Albert Mansbridge*

The Social Function of a Free Church

CURTIS W. REESE

From a free church point of view, religion should be regarded as the human effort to find the kind of life that is inherently desirable and the committal of oneself to it. From such an understanding of the nature of religion, it follows that everything from birth to death, from personal desires to social goals, from microscopic cells to the galaxy of worlds, is proper subject matter for religious concern.

A time like the present, when both those who lead and those who are led stand alike on the brink of despair, is especially opportune for advocates of a free faith to lay aside undue reticence, grasp large issues, and assume a leadership long awaited by a distraught world.

That we are in the midst of significant social change is evident to any observant person. We are witnessing the collapse of a form of society once thought to be as solid as the Rock of Ages. It has been taken for granted that man is an acquisitive animal, that he is primarily motivated by the desire for private gain. This has been so generally accepted that the economic order has been largely builded upon it. Rarely has the church questioned the dominance of the profit motive; and usually it has been proclaimed as a primary virtue. One famous minister lectured over six thousand times, from one end of the country to the other, on the subject, "Acres of Diamonds," in which the acquisitive instinct was extolled and the rapt hearers were told how to find a million dollars by digging in their own back yards. Some took the advice and actually found the million; a larger number found it by digging in somebody else's back yard; and still more found it without digging at all.

But such motivation, however well it may have functioned in pioneer days, has not as a general social motive proved itself adequate to meet the needs of the complex modern world. Witness the direful situation in which we find ourselves. In the world at large, at least three-fourths of the people are inadequately fed, housed and clothed, while one-fourth of the population of the world dwells far below the line of healthful and decent subsistence. The inequitable—I do not say unequal—the inequitable distribution of the fruits of soil and muscle and brain has reached the stage where the millions of unemployed depend on governmental aid, or live on friends and relatives and the last dollar of their savings. Other millions are rapidly coming to the end of their economic row, losing their property and seeing their investments fade away. Private philanthropy has broken down and rugged individualism has succumbed to Federal aid. And all this at a time when the machine stands ready to enrich the world and reduce labor to a minimum. It is not necessary to push the point further—we are witnessing the collapse of profit-motivated society.

A more important matter is the diversity and magnitude of the social changes already attempted or in contemplation. In recent years, throughout the world, national political changes of the most far reaching nature have been effected, some progressive, some reactionary, but all showing the tremendous tides of change that are sweeping over mankind. Mexico throws off the old state and the old church. Italy and Germany launch fascist dictatorships. Russia becomes a socialist Soviet and the apocalyptic ideal for the dispossessed of the whole world. Spain and China are struggling to save their independence. The United States witnesses changes of hitherto unheard of depth and significance.

With the passing of monarchy and the emergence of dictatorships, Democracy faces new foes. It is challenged from the left by a vehemence surpassing that of the older opponents. For my own part I am persuaded that the democratic ideal, which is that of free persons in a free society, voluntarily and intelligently coöperating for the common good, is yet to be reckoned with. But for the time being it is all but overshadowed by the storm clouds that are hanging everywhere.

In international relations, changes equally far reaching are taking place. The boasted dogma of national sovereignty is in a life-and-death struggle with the emerging conceptions of a unified world.

Yet greater changes are in contemplation, some of them within the old order, some of them aiming at the overthrow of the old order. Within the old order are the advocates of economic planning, without political revolution. The Labor Unions, the Chambers of Commerce, the leagues for political action, and the liberal and progressive groups are of this persuasion. Aiming at a new order are the Socialists, the Communists, and the champions of a free society.

Some there are—congenital pioneer souls—who hold to the possibility of change in terms of patterns as yet unknown. They hold that the machine age plus modern social techniques make possible social arrangements over-arching all those previously conceived. Over the blue-prints of such an order they still labor. They are the seers who labor toward that which does not yet appear. But keeping this basal, experimental, questing attitude in the forefront of our mind does not justify our failing to coöperate with specific projects now under way.

So much for the collapse of the old order and for the diversity and the magnitude of social change.

In the midst of all this, how stands the church? It is not too much to say that the church is all but disregarded as a major factor in social change. In fact, it is generally thought of as a bulwark against change.

The attitude of radically minded people toward the church is either that of hostility or disdain. In my experience as a speaker before a great variety of radical organizations, I have noted that the presiding officer is usually careful not to introduce me as a minister, except in situations where a public front is desired. He avoids it, even at the cost of great circumlocution. He believes that, should he so identify me, a wall would rise like magic between me and the audience. For my part, just as quickly as possible in my opening remarks, I reveal the dark and terrible secret!

These people feel as they do because the church has been other-worldly in its emphasis, and as a usual thing subservient to the established order. They feel that on the basis of its own claims the church should be a critic of the state, not a subservient follower of it. My judgment is that their opposition to the church is, in the main, well founded.

Witness the attitude of church people themselves

toward the church. Although usually genuine in their attitude, the more conventional of the church people think of the church in terms of personal values. If they are psychologically inclined, they think of it in terms of retreat from the world. Still others, the more mystical ones, think of the church as a means of attaining "cosmic harmony." Others think of the church in terms of moral policy—of small virtues and still smaller sins. To radicals, these various attitudes of church people seem primarily ways of escape from real problems of life, and so they will have none of it.

Recognizing the direful condition of the world, eagerly awake to social change, proposed change, and the possibilities of change, admitting—even affirming—the ample justification for the current skeptical attitude toward the church, I am nevertheless convinced that a consistently radical free church can render inestimable service in a period of social change—such as no other institution can possibly render; and that its function is of a permanent nature, for social change in the direction of the better should always be advocated by some institution that aims to see life as a whole. There will never be a social order so good that it could not be better. Reactionary fundamentalism, whether of the right or of the left, should always be opposed everywhere; and by whom more effectively than by advocates of the free spirit?

A free church can meet a real need by a well-balanced, critical, factual, and completely free pulpit consideration of large aspects of human life; a pulpit in which no personal hazard weighs in the selection or treatment of subjects. If there is any place on earth from which all unworthy motives should be completely banished, it is the free pulpit. Playing to the galleries and playing to prejudices are alike immoral. Preaching is the persuasive proclamation of profound conviction. When facts are analyzed, conclusions reached, and convictions formed, then a preacher must speak, limited only by his own sense of proportion, his regard for the feelings of those who differ from him, and his appreciation of the common decencies of public utterance.

When a minister asked Garrick how he moved his audiences as he did, Garrick replied, "You treat reality as if it were fiction; I treat fiction as if it were reality." There are some human situations that are so real, so charged with danger or with hope, that in the treatment of them "passion is reason" and "temper, tranquil." Preaching, honestly and competently done, on the basis of profound convictions, is a terrifying responsibility.

Preaching can become more effective by the positive championing of emerging ideals and the men who foster them, even when they are not fully what we could wish them to be, even when on the surface they seem mutually exclusive. I have in mind, as examples, Gandhi of India and Lenin of Russia, whom I regard as two of the greatest men yet let loose on this planet. Gandhi, the apostle of the power of sheer right without aid of physical might; Lenin, the apostle of the power of social control aided by physical might. Gandhi not willing to sacrifice the life of the lowest animal; Lenin willing to sacrifice any life that stood in the way of the common good—both extreme. But somewhere in the future those two ideals may come together in the power of voluntary coöperation for the common good. But such generalizations are not enough. It is easy to champion Gandhi who is in far-off India, and Lenin who is dead. More to the point is our attitude toward a Mooney in America or a Sacco and a Vanzetti martyred by an American Court.

And even these cases have become classical, hence respectable. Much more important is what we think of blacklists, illegal arrests, prison abuses, lynchings, Jim Crow laws, and how we respond to concrete programs for the remaking of our social order. These and other like issues should lead to moral fervor, which is essential to the fullest power. But moral fervor cannot be pumped up. It comes from clear thinking and deep conviction on concrete questions. A preacher whose moral sensibilities are not dulled by conventionalities and shams cannot but exhibit moral fervor when he thinks clearly on specific wrongs and when he believes fully in proposed programs for alleviation and prevention.

My opinion is that lack of moral fervor—lack of the consciousness of a cause—more than anything else is responsible for vacant pews and empty churches. True, strong convictions must be balanced by good judgment; but the great churches have had great preachers who felt mightily on human wrongs and believed firmly in the reign of justice and love.

Can Anti-Semitism Be Combatted?

MIRIAM ZIONY

The analysis and suggestions made by Mr. Victor S. Yarros recently in his article in UNITY on "How to Combat Anti-Semitism in the United States" are particularly interesting and thought-provoking at this time when anti-Semitism, as well as the general problem of racial, national, and religious intolerance, is becoming more and more acute in many parts of the world.

The question, however, is: Can anti-Semitism be eliminated by changing people's attitudes, customs, or occupations; by educating or legislating; or, in the light of what is transpiring in Germany, today, even by Jewish acceptance of Jesus as their greatest prophet as proposed in an article in the December issue of the *Atlantic?*

"Anti-Semitism is more than a prejudice"; says Mr. Yarros, "it is a feeling." But is not all prejudice accompanied by some sort of "feeling"? Prejudice is a "judgment or opinion formed without due examination." According to the psychiatrists and the authorities on mental hygiene, prejudice is founded on feelings of fear or inferiority or frustration. It is just because anti-Semitism has a basis in feeling, rather than in fact, that combatting it seems like sowing the dragon's teeth, for the anti-Semitic feeling, like prejudice against mem-

bers of any race or religion or national group, finds its own excuses for being, in the minds and hearts and emotions of those who use it to fan the flame of their own ambitions and purposes, or who feed on it to forget their dissatisfaction with themselves or with the limitations and inadequacies of their physical, emotional, and spiritual environment.

Personally, I have never felt prejudiced against any group, or been conscious of, or concerned much about prejudice against myself. I always went to schools where there were both Jewish and non-Jewish students. My teachers have been mostly non-Jewish, some of my dearest friends are non-Jewish, and I have several non-Jewish relatives by marriage. My concern has been with the general problem of prejudice and with trying to remind those of my Jewish friends and relatives who, mindful of the discriminations and the persecutions and the betrayals which Jews have suffered thorugh the ages, have felt that there must always be barriers between Jews and Gentiles, that there are Jews who are no better than the worst Gentiles and Gentiles who possess just as fine mental and moral and spiritual qualities as the best Jews.

It has amused me to see how frequently mistakes in identity have been made in judgment on the basis of those "moral and intellectual" or even the "temperamental" and physical differences between Jews and Gentiles, which so many Jews and Gentiles seem to think are there and by which they are certain they are able to distinguish one from the other. It has seemed so futile and so tragic that those whom God would join in a community of ideas and ideals, man-made prejudice has so often torn asunder—and in the name of religion.

The fine work being done by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Federal Council of Churches, the National Conference of Jews and Christians, and similar organizations in bringing about better interracial and interreligious understanding cannot be over-estimated. One cannot ignore the harmful effects upon impressionable minds of derogatory remarks and "contemptuous references" against a minority group, nor be unappreciative of positive results to be gained by reconditioning and reëducating methods, by efforts to correct negative impressions, especially in the minds of the young. But who can guarantee the permanence of such positive, good-will teaching or the establishment of immunity against subsequent injection of prejudicial fears and hates in a world where economic and industrial competition, political and nationalistic enmity, unemployment and poverty—poverty of the spirit as well as in material things—are powerful and ever active *negative* conditioning agents?

Would not the development of our economic and industrial order in such a way that every worker, both Jew and non-Jew, could earn a living at some useful and satisfying profession or occupation be a better solution than making farmers out of potential lawyers and medical students? As a matter of fact, the Jews have been engaged in agriculture, both in the United States and in other countries. Mr. Gabriel Davidson in a detailed study of "The Jew in Agriculture in the United States," published in the American Jewish Year Book for 1935-1936 by the Jewish Publication Society of America, declares that "the Jewish agrarian population today is larger than most people suppose. Estimates lately made point to a world Jewish farm population of about 800,000," and that in the United States, according to estimates made by the Jewish Agricultural Society, there are about 80,000 Jews "who are wholly or partly engaged in farming and in kindred agricultural pursuits."

> "Jewish farmsteads range in size from the less than an acre intensive nursery to the 30,000 acre grain fields of a Jewish farmer in Kansas. They can be found in all of our forty-eight states . . .
>
> "There is no type of agriculture practised in the United States which is foreign to the Jew. Dairying, poultry raising, truck farming, floriculture, orcharding, viticulture, cattle raising, tobacco, grain, cotton, sugar beets—in short every branch of farming has its Jewish votaries."

Various Jewish agencies have been interested in promoting agriculture in this country, notably the Jewish Agricultural Society, which for many years has stimulated "vocational preparation for farm-minded youth," has acted as a lending agency for Jewish farmers in need of funds, and through its Extension Department has supplemented the governmental extension service of bringing important agricultural information to the farmer. "Since 1908, the Department has published *The Jewish Farmer,* an agricultural magazine in Yiddish, and now issues monthly farm bulletins." The National Farm School, near Doylestown, Pennsylvania, "founded in 1898 by the late Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf of Philadelphia," gives a three-year course in the theory and practice of scientific farming. "Jews are found on the staffs of agricultural schools and colleges, experimental stations, in extension service, in state and federal agricultural bureaus, and in scientific work for commercial concerns," says Mr. Davidson.

Lack of funds for purchase and maintenance has been considered the chief reason why a larger number of Jews have not taken to farming in the United States. But what would our crop-curtailing Department of Agriculture and the present farm population say about additional food growers and their relation to falling prices, etc.?

Certainly Jewish interest and activity in agriculture in Palestine (the March, 1937 issue of *Foreign Agriculture,* published by the United States Department of Agriculture, has an interesting account of its development in recent years) have not made for less propaganda and prejudice but for more, in the hands of the various groups and individuals—communist, fascist, British, and wealthy Arab—who have been inciting the poor but peaceful Arab population against the Jews as a means of furthering their own ambitions and theories.

The prejudicial nature of racial and religious discrimination and animosity is well indicated by the fact that diametrically opposite traits and characteristics are attributed to different minority groups as reasons for dislike and suppression. Negroes, for example, we are told, must be kept down because they are lazy and shiftless and mentally incapable of becoming the equal of the white man. When it is pointed out how Negroes, when given only half a chance, have been capable of making rapid progress and have advanced to high positions in the arts and sciences and professions, the answer of the prejudiced has been that "it is the white blood in them" that made possible the progress.

Prejudice against the Jews, on the other hand, has often been centered in the accusation that they are ambitious and energetic, and that they control all the jobs and all the wealth. All the Jews who are lazy or shiftless or unemployed or not interested in the acquisition of money and power are usually not mentioned by the anti-Semites nor is there any attempt made to produce

comparative, scientific, statistical data to substantiate the claims about Jewish domination. (The anti-Semitic regime in Roumania, inasmuch as available statistics, produced by Jewish sympathizers, are disproving the accusation that there is a disproportionate number of Jewish doctors, for instance, in Roumania or that the Jews are in control of the liquor business and want to poison the Roumanian people, has suddenly discovered that there are also Jews who are poor and unemployed, and has made that additional cause for persecution.)

The "Protocols of Zion" have long been revealed as a fraud and forgery, yet to Hitler, who "obtained his first political education" in an environment where "anti-Semitism was one of the leading principles in politics," to quote Dr. Fritz Ermarth,[1] *"the guiding force behind liberalism, democracy, pacifism, internationalism, capitalism, Marxism, and Communism is World-Jewry."* "Jewish influence in politics, in education, in banking and business, in medicine, in the field of theatre and cinema was very strong and the competition between Jews and Gentiles was bitter. To blame the whole disaster and misery of the post-war period on the Jews was an obvious political convenience," says Dr. Ermarth, in his analysis of the Nazi motivations and procedures and Hitler's strategy of uniting opposing factions under the slogan of anti-Semitism through "nationalist and racial devices" that "appealed first and foremost to the emotions, not to the intellect of the people"; and thus winning them over to his party and his plans for abolishing poverty and unemployment and rebuilding the German nation, for wiping out the stigma of defeat in the World War and the injustices of the Versailles Treaty, and gaining for Germany again a place in the Sun.

Yet even Dr. Ermarth, in what is on the whole a clear and dispassionate presentation, gives no figures to indicate the relative strength and influence of the Jews in Germany in education, banking and business, medicine, etc., as Miss Mildred S. Wertheimer, Research Associate of the Foreign Policy Association did, for instance, in her analysis of Jewish government employes and officials in Republican Germany:

> The report is spread abroad that almost half the officials in Republican Germany were Jews. The Nazi propagandists neglect to mention the fact that, according to the last official census figures, there are in the Reich only 564,000 Jews out of a total German population of 63,000,000; again according to official statistics, there were in Republican Germany a million and a half state employes, including all categories. If nearly half had been Jews, every Jewish man, woman, and child would have had to be an official—even then the Jews would not have been numerous enough to account for nearly half of the state employes! Actually, however, there were relatively few Jewish officials in Germany. In Prussia, for instance, a state comprising three-fifths of the whole Reich, there were 1,563 Jewish officials; in other words, the Jewish officials there formed one-third of 1 per cent of all Prussian officials, while the Jews comprised just over 1 per cent of the whole Prussian population. In the rest of Germany, the percentage of Jewish government officials was probably still lower, for the Prussian figures also include the officials of the federal government in Berlin, the capital of the Reich.[2]

"It must not be forgotten, moreover," says Miss Wertheimer, "that in Germany a large proportion of the doctors, all teachers, professors, and judges are classified as state employes."

In Czarist Russia, where the pretense that the Jews were playing too prominent a part in the political, economic, professional, and educational life of the land could not be used because of stringent restrictions and limitation on Jewish participation, other kinds of accusations were made and other means employed for keeping anti-Semitism alive.

Even in Soviet Russia, which is very proud of its educational and legislative efforts at promoting good will and tolerance among its many racial and national groups, anti-Semitism and anti-other minority hatreds have, however, been mitigated only through replacement, as it were, by other prejudices such as anti-capitalism, anti-kulakism, anti-religionism, and most recently anti-"Trotskyism." And there is no certainty that the smouldering embers of the old hatreds may not yet be revived some day to satisfy some new fears and phobias, some new dictatorial regime, some new liberator with dreams of building peace and righteousness by force and violence.

Surely those "wonderful and noble moral and spiritual" qualities which the *Christian Century,* in all sincerity, cautions the Jews not to claim for themselves alone, should be no cause for quarrels and controversies between Jews and Gentiles. Righteousness and mercy and humility are qualities which devout and pious Jews have ever visualized as ideals to aspire to and strive for, rather than as objectives already attained either by themselves or others. The prophets of Israel have been just as vigorous, and even more so, in their proclamation and denunciation of the weaknesses and frailties of their people as in acclaiming their goodness. The Hebrew scriptures are replete with confession of sins and iniquities, with prayers of forgiveness and atonement; the chosen people have considered themselves *chosen* to suffer for their transgressions, not as having a monopoly on all that is upright and virtuous. And if cherishing a hope of being *chosen* to be the guiding moral light for the nations of the world can be a cause for prejudice and persecution, should not the persecution and the prejudice be reversed, for have not Gentile peoples felt that they have had a monopoly on salvation—a salvation which they have at times sought to impose on non-believers with fire and sword?

Anti-Semitism is not a disease but rather a *symptom* of underlying disease in the social and spiritual structure, and, only as the *disease itself* is more adequately diagnosed and understood and treated in all its implications and ramifications, will the symptom vanish —of its own accord. And only as high-minded and enlightened men and women, both Jews and non-Jews, can forget their grievances and their differences and try to rebuild this world through friendship and understanding, by seeking social and economic justice through the kingdom of good rather than by resistance of evil, shall we ever hope to attain to that era of brotherhood and prosperity and peace of which the prophets and the peoples have always dreamed.

The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of one's self is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbor's faults like chaff; but his own faults he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the player.

—*Buddha*

1. Fritz Ermarth, *The New Germany,* Digest Press, American University Graduate School, Washington, D. C., 1936.

2. From printed copy of address entitled *Nazi Germany* by Mildred S. Wertheimer, Radio Talk No. 186 in "The World Today" series of the Foreign Policy Association, broadcast over Station WEAF, June 17, 1933.

Study Table

Totalitarian Freedom

LIBERALISM FACES THE FUTURE. *By Clarence R. Skinner.* 159 *pp. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $1.50

It is refreshing to find someone discussing liberalism from a spiritual point of view. For the vast majority, liberalism is either a political technique or a secular methodology, utterly devoid of any soul-shaking convictions. Unless liberalism can once again become an evangel, challenging men to give their lives for it, it will not amount to anything more than a debate.

To do this is the task to which the author gives himself. Naturally, it is difficult to condense his twelve-page definition of liberalism with which he opens the discussion. Perhaps John Milton's succinct statement will suffice:

> "To be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it, this is the golden rule in theology as well as in science. . . . She needs no policies, no stratagems, to make her victorious . . . give me the liberty to know, to utter freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."

His second chapter is devoted to a brief survey of the roots of modern liberalism. These roots he finds in a new and novel set of three "R's": Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution. Of the Renaissance, he quotes Ralph Roeder in his *Man of the Renaissance*:

> "In the broadest sense the Renaissance might be described as one of those recurring crises in the annals of the race when a ferment of new life, like a rising sap, bursts the accepted codes of morality and men revert to Nature and the free play of instinct and experience in its contact."

Concerning the Reformation, he uses the statement of Thomas M. Lindsay in his *A History of the Reformation*:

> "It was the blossoming and fructifying of the European intellectual life, but perhaps it ought to be added that it contained a new conception of the Universe in which religion consisted less in a feeling of dependence on God and more in a faith in the possibilities lying in mankind.

Of Revolution, he says:

> "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* may seem to us of the twentieth century a cliché, a harmless generality, but to the men who first dared to utter that cry, it meant that an era was fully born. Liberty represented the antithesis of a thousand years of authoritarianism; equality challenged the hierarchal organization of society, with its assumptions of superior and inferior; fraternity implied a free flow of fellowship, leveling every ancient barrier of class and creed."

In discussing the development of liberalism, he finds that it moved through six steps: individualism, toleration, scientific inquiry, religious sectarianism, political democracy and parliamentarianism, and economic capitalism. These six steps are ably discussed, evidencing an intimate acquaintance with the social ferment which threw them forth.

The chapter on "A Philosophy of Liberalism" is exceedingly interesting. His starting point is the necessity of belief in man; that man is worth working for, and that at the core of human nature is a something sound and good. Second in his affirmation is integration: "In its larger sense liberalism is a deep-lying attitude which attempts in the light of its presuppositions to analyze and interpret the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic, and political relationships of human society." Confidence is the foundation stone in the philosophy of liberalism, without which liberty, freedom, and rights for the average man cannot possibly exist.

It is good to see his analysis of the weakness of liberalism (Chapter 5). Here he quotes Rufus Jones:

> "Liberalism, if it is to have a signal future, must have a well-matured philosophy of life. It must have a program to be accomplished; and it must reveal a propulsive dynamic which is powerful enough to change the line of march and to bring into play new energies to live by."

After setting forth the weakness of liberalism (and it is a doleful catalogue) he states, "What the new age demands is the maximum number of rugged individuals putting their full strength to the task of socialization." Again:

> "Socialization is simply the increase of the 'we' feeling over the 'I' feeling. It is the process by which people become integrated with groups, whether a family, tribe, school, church, business, state, or world."

In Chapter 6 he surveys the world of rising authoritarianism. Here he sets down several reasons why we are forsaking freedom. First, life has become so complicated that we find it imperative to break down large-scale living and return to simpler forms. Second, cultural pluralism: "This is a condition of society in which a great number of philosophies and values exist in a state of tolerated juxtaposition." Third, "technological and specialized character of society, which logically issues in a high degree of integration and thus calls for centralized control." Fourth, "the world war with its attendant breakdown of the normal structure of international relations, its swift confusion, and its stunning poverty."

The last chapter on "New Horizons for Liberalism" is his gospel, which he would like to have liberals espouse. In one fell swoop he insists that liberalism to save itself must espouse totalitarian freedom.

> "This kind of freedom is that kind which develops all the capacities of the individual, opens opportunities for full expression, and guarantees, so far as human beings can guarantee anything, a harmony between individuals. It is this kind of freedom which arouses a social purpose in the individual, and fills him with an urge to self-realization in terms of mutual regard and reciprocal development. It is that freedom which lodges not only in the protesting breast, but much more in the structure of social institutions. It produces free individuals, who produce free institutions, and it produces free institutions which produce free men."

On pages 130 to 135 he outlines the range of this totalitarian freedom; that is, those persons whom it must include, and the kinds of freedom necessary if they are to develop to their fullest capacity.

He closes the book with an excellent description of the kind of faith which our age needs to save itself. He is thoroughly convinced "that what happens in the next hundred years will depend largely upon the extent to which liberals keep or lose their faith."

Verily, he is perplexed, but not unto despair! It

is good to feel a glow of fellowship in this communion of saints! W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW.

China Speaks to the West

THE IMPORTANCE OF LIVING. *By Lin Yutang.* 459 *pp. New York: a John Day Book, Reynal and Hitchcock.* $3.00.

Eleven years ago we read a thought attributed to the Sage of Shien Shan, "Be only simple of heart and you will discover everything without effort, like a child finding flowers." We wished at the time that the idea had been developed more fully, and were delighted and grateful to find the substance of the statement expanded into the proportions of a book, a human life. Lin Yutang has done just that and with the simplicity of heart he has combined the emotion of wonder at the universe and human life and a very adult sense of sanity-saving humor.

As crickets who, in Thoreau's words, "have drunk no wine but the dew," as flowers which absorb the nourishment needful to their blossoming, the human animal takes food and Nature transforms this food into vibrant flesh and circling blood. Humans, being a curious mixture of animal and that other quality which we call spirit, discover that, when the basic animal needs have been met, there is a definite upthrusting urge demanding satisfaction which can be comforted only by a joyous, expansive absorption of spiritual food: beauty, wisdom, truth, and courage. The happy man is he who feeds both his body and his soul. But the human animal is less an absorbing sponge than a lantern burning this fuel in order to create a luminosity, and this is his focal point of spirituality. Lin Yutang would not separate flesh and spirit. His enjoyment of living consists in accepting the two as a unity and pursuing a course of wise moderation in all things. He asks, "But are a woman's looks and smiles physical or spiritual? No one can say."

A few selections from the Table of Contents of this book should be as appetizers to anyone who loves to "loaf and invite [his] soul." That same attitude has been expressed elsewhere as:

> "What is this life if full of care
> We have no time to stop and stare?"

Here are a few of the Chapter headings: "The Awakening," "Views of Mankind," "Our Animal Heritage," "On Being Human," "The Importance of Loafing," "Enjoyment of Travel," which reminds one of Emerson, "Enjoyment of Culture," "Relationship to God," and "The Art of Thinking." It is evident that the book moves with a mighty sweep up to the discussion of that highest function of the human animal which is thinking. Lin Yutang would prefer that we say the book moves "like sailing clouds and flowing water," which is just as true, perhaps truer.

There is a sweet reasonableness about Lin Yutang, a delicately refined sense of beauty, a definite and rare charm, a graceful and penetrating sense of humor and tolerance which, like a mental catalysis, precipitate the dross and unessentials of living and liberate the clear and sparkling nectar of beauty and the liquid enlightenment of intuition. He transforms this gratis possession of life from an ordinary existence into a realization of the "rhythmic vitality" of Being. How can he help but know the art of enjoyment by so doing? With the "animal faith" of Santayana he combines the consciousness of unity with the Over Soul of Emerson—even older than the idea of Emerson, with the Tao of Lao-tzu.

This book contains very much that is epigrammatic:

> "Civilization is largely a matter of seeking food, while progress is that development which makes food more and more difficult to get."
> "We shall not learn the lesson of humility until science has explored the limits of the universe."
> "Simplicity, then, paradoxically, is the outward sign and symbol of depth of thought."
> "A man believing in the cold head against the warm heart is a fool."
> "Perhaps I don't understand economics, but economics doesn't understand me, either."
> "Only those who take leisurely what the people of the world are busy about can be busy about what the people of the world take leisurely."

There is not space in which to more than mention the beautiful, sometimes obviously humorous, passages on flower arrangements, landscapes, tea drinking, on lying in bed, on sitting in chairs, etc., all those things which most westerners dismiss as with a wave of the hand while in hot pursuit of fame and fortune. Speaking of the humbug of fame and fortune and power, the Taoistic wisdom says,

> "How did the great rivers and seas get their kingship over the hundred lesser streams?
> Through the merit of being lower than they: that is how they got their kingship."

Any person who was raised in a childhood environment of orthodoxy will find himself smiling reminiscently as he reads the chapter on "Relationship to God." "I am a Pagan" is utterly honest and convincing.

Lin Yutang's conclusions about western religions have been similarly expressed by Gandhi in an interview with Upton Close. Gandhi says:

> "You glory in speed, thinking not of the goal. You elevate the process rather than the ultimate product. You think souls are saved because you can invent the radio. Of what elevation to men is the method of broadcasting when you have only drivel to send out? What mark of civilization is it to be able to produce a one-hundred and twenty page newspaper in one night when most of it is either banal or actually vicious, and not two columns of it are worth preserving? What contribution to man has aeronautics made which can overbalance its use in his self-destruction? You are children playing with razors. You westerners are trying to separate the political from the religious and the practical from the moral. There is no distinction. All things affecting man's welfare are religious."[1]

In the last chapter of *The Importance of Living* Lin Yutang approaches the premise of Dr. Alexis Carrel in his *Man, the Unknown.* Lin Yutang says:

> "For we have now come to a stage of human culture in which we have compartments of knowledge but not knowledge itself; specialization but no integration; specialists but no philosophers of human wisdom . . . Human wisdom can not be merely the *adding up* of specialized knowledge or obtained by a study of statistical averages; it can be achieved only by insight, by the general prevalence of more common sense, more wit and more plain, but subtle, intuition."

There is hope here, hope for the future because the future rests with each single individual. There is also the realization of the difficulties of adjustments between the individual and inescapable society. According to our author it would seem that we all try too hard. Enjoyment and effective living result from

1. *Revolt of Asia,* by Upton Close.

an inner harmony and serenity which is certainly jostled if one chooses to climb and scramble and want what he has not, rather than be content to take stock of his own personality and his own environment, and with a delightful detachment mould his destiny himself.

The penetrating insight into the dictator type of mind is forcibly expressed. All through the book he presents the ancient and present-day Chinese attitude toward living from which we feel the West has much to learn.

It is too, too obvious what happens when the West meets East unsympathetically and brutally. I consider Japan the East as well as China. It is the West that has done this thing to both of them, has taught them the technique of efficient, wholesale slaughter. One can do no less, also no more, than weep at the futility, and patiently await the arrival of the fulfillment of justice. We weep at the burden of boulders forcibly shoved onto oriental shoulders, onto shoulders of men who find great joy in contemplating the colors and contours and the mighty significances of shining pebbles. (This is our own interpolation. Lin Yutang does not mention in his book the situation in the East.)

That this Chinese and world citizen should have produced what has been termed "the most civilized book of our time" is a fact deserving attention, to be accepted with a divine sense of compassionate humor toward those westerners who pride themselves on the civilization they have made. This man speaks wisdom.

"It is not truth," said Confucius, "that can make men great, but men that can make truth great."

V. Friederika Van Buskirk

Correspondence

Japan and the United States

Editor of Unity:

I have just read your editorial in the January 17th issue of Unity, entitled Japan and the United States, in which your advice to American citizens (other than missionaries), to American ships and soldiers in China, is: "GET OUT" in capital letters.

As one who has resided in China nearly twenty years, and as one whose husband is one of that small company of Americans in Nanking who has refused to get out, will you allow me to indicate another side to the question? I take it that you approve of our missionaries remaining "at their own risk." I am sure you agree that the missionaries do not desire the protection of the gunboats, and that in remaining by the side of their Chinese friends they are a heroic group.

But I ask: Why should we have only "heroic missionaries"? I have always objected to the implied classification of "men, women, and missionaries." Why shouldn't we have heroic business-men, too? I claim that the American business-man (I am thinking of the head of a great insurance company) who said, "We have 750,000 Chinese policyholders who have put their confidence in us; we cannot desert them at this time," is just as heroic as the missionary, and just as *right* in refusing to "get out." I feel that it is more important to be *right* than *safe*, let the consequences be what they may. And you may be sure that, as the American business-man goes out, Japan closes the Open Door.

To my way of thinking, a Neutrality Act that treats the invader the same as the invaded, the aggressor the same as the violated, is wrong. And our present attitude toward China is wrong. We have been known for generations as "the friend of China," and today Madame Chiang Kai-shek, speaking with breaking heart from China, can say: "The world can see now by what Japan is doing in China that she is sinister, ruthless, well-armed, well-organized, and acting on a preconceived plan. For years she has been preparing for this very attempt to conquer China, even if she has to annihilate the people to do so. *Curiously, no other nation seems to care.*" And Japan's Hirota can say: "The United States attitude toward the China war is fair and just." As an American citizen and a friend of China, I hang my head in shame when Japan is so well-satisfied with the flow of crude oil and scrap iron and munitions into her country that she calls our attitude fair and just. The Japanese military do not know the meaning of fair play or justice!

The present reversal of American idealism to a policy of *selfish isolationism* is having such an adverse effect that American women are not even rolling bandages for China, I suppose lest we get involved in war. I maintain that there can be no peace for America that does not mean peace for the world. There is no peace for the world while militaristic nations run amuck. It is not highfaluting talk to say that they are running amuck. The military ambitions of Japan include domination of the entire Far East, and, if that is accomplished, then the carrying of their "superior culture" to the rest of the world. Is it sane or insane?

Unity has a sub-title: "He hath made of *one* all nations of men." We are so interlocked, our interests are so interwoven today, that we cannot withdraw on our self-sufficient continent, and say, "Japan now wants her place in the sun, and who are we to stand in her way?" The democratic nations of the world must stand in the way of any nation that insists on using the obsolete, outlawed method of "grab what you want." I hope it need not be by war, but I cannot individually "buy Japanese" while Japan continues to bomb schools and hospitals and innocent non-combatants in China. I *want* the good people of Japan to say, "Why won't Americans trade with us any more? What are our armies doing in China that western nations so object to, and why doesn't this incident that our militarists said would be finished by Thanksgiving-time come to an end?"

President Roosevelt was far nearer *right* when he replied to Governor Landon than when, at the outbreak of hostilities, he came as near as anyone could to ordering all Americans out of China. To Governor Landon he wrote: "Throughout our long history we Americans have rejected every suggestion that ultimate security can be assured by closing our eyes to the fact that whether we like it or not, we are a part of a large world of other nations and people. As such we owe some measure of coöperation and even leadership in maintaining standards of conduct helpful to the ultimate goal of general peace."

We cannot boast of the leadership we have given in this present situation, nor of our helping hand to China. The *Panay* need not have been bombed and sunk except for our weak-kneed, "peace-at-any-price" policy. The surest way to war for ourselves is to let the aggressor continue without let or hindrance. Let us be *right first*, and hope and pray that military madness can be checked short of another world war. And then let us begin to build again on a surer foundation our structure of world-peace.

Geraldine T. Fitch.

Los Angeles, California.

Proud Disguise

The roll of drums draws nearer.
We hear the bugle notes.
Banners fly and "Honor,"
Is the cry from husky throats.

With plumes and splendid armor,
(And blood upon his feet)
Inciting men to fury
War presses toward our street.

He cracks his whip for action.
He shrieks for greater speed.
His camouflage is glory
But his voice is the voice of greed.

—Grace Constable